

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 194173
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW;DH
APPROVED BY AF/S:DKEOGH
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 194173

EXDIS, FOR CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, PDEV, UK, UN

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO WALDHEIM

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF U.S.-U.K. SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WHICH
WE ARE SENDING FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND PREPARATION
FOR MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL. BY SEPTELS WE ARE ALSO
SENDING DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON
RHODESIA AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MEETING ITSELF. (ANNEXES
REFERRED TO IN TEXT NOT INCLUDED.)
BEGIN TEXT:

BRITISH-US PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA.

1. ON 10 MARCH 1977 THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS
AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER ON A JOINT PEACE INITIATIVE TO
ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. THE OBJECTIVE
WAS AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

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2. TO SUCCEED, ANY SETTLEMENT MUST COMMAND THE SUPPORT
OF THOSE PEOPLE OF GOODWILL OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS WHO
INTEND TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS CITIZENS OF ZIM-
BABWE. AMONGST THESE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOW MANY CON-
FLICTING INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF

DEEP DISTRUST. THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS LED TO THE LOSS
OF MANY LIVES AND TO MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING. THE ECONOMY
HAS BEEN GRAVELY WEAKENED. BUT THERE IS SURELY ONE
OVERRIDING COMMON INTEREST, THAT PEACE SHOULD BE RESTORED

AND THAT GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

3. IN APRIL THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY TOURED THE AREA AND MET ALL THE PARTIES TO THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FIVE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA. HE SET OUT THE ELEMENTS WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, COULD IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMPRISE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, AS FOLLOWS:

(A) A CONSTITUTION FOR INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR

(1) A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WITH THE WIDEST POSSIBLE FRANCHISE:

(2) A BILL OF RIGHTS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE BILL WOULD BE QUOTE ENTRENCHED UNQUOTE SO THAT AMENDMENT OF IT WOULD BE MADE SUBJECT TO SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES AND IT WOULD GIVE THE RIGHT TO AN CONFIDENTIAL

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INDIVIDUAL WHO BELIEVED HIS RIGHTS WERE BEING INFRINGED TO SEEK REDRESS THROUGH THE COURTS:

(3) AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

(B) A TRANSITION PERIOD COVERING THE SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE PRESENT REGIME, THE INSTALLATION OF A NEUTRAL CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE, IN ADDITION TO ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY, WOULD BE THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PERIOD IT WAS ENVISAGED, WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY CONSTITUTED AND MANAGED DEVELOPMENT FUND (THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND).

4. FOLLOWING THAT TOUR, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE MET IN LONDON ON 6 MAY AND AGREED TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THESE PROPOSALS. TO THIS END THEY ESTABLISHED A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP MET ALL THE PARTIES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN LONDON AND IN AFRICA AND CARRIED OUT DETAILED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. IN PARALLEL,

THE GOVERNMENTS OF INTERESTED COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED GENERALLY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT, HAVE NOW DECIDED TO PUT FIRM PROPOSALS FORWARD, COVERING THE THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN DOING SO THEY EMPHASIZE THAT THE THREE ASPECTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE. IT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPOSSIBLE FOR EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF A SETTLEMENT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE. THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY, HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS A BALANCED AND FAIR PACKAGE IN WHICH, THOUGH NO ONE MAY ACHIEVE ALL HIS AIMS, EVERYONE CAN SEE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CONSTITUTION

6. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC. PROVISION WOULD BE MADE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE, FOR A SINGLE-CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES. DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE SET OUT AT ANNEX A TO THIS DOCUMENT. THE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TAKEN AS EXCLUDING ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH DO NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE CONSTITUTION: EG PROVISION IS MADE FOR AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT WITH A VICE-PRESIDENT, BUT THERE MIGHT INSTEAD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT AND A PRIME MINISTER, IN WHICH CASE MANY OF THE POWERS WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO VEST IN THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE VESTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER OR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ADVICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

7. DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE FORBIDDEN BY A BILL OF RIGHTS PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3(A)(2)) THIS BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD BE JUSTICIABLE SO THAT AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUALS COULD ENFORCE THEIR RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO INTRODUCE MEASURES OF LAND CONFIDENTIAL

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REFORM WHILE GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT

JUDICIARY AND AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

TO ENSURE AN EFFICIENT AND NON-POLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WOULD INHERIT THE ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND WOULD TAKE OVER PAST AND PRESENT PENSIONS OBLIGATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, THE RIGHTS OF THE PENSIONERS BEING GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD CONTAIN THE BASIC PROVISIONS REGULATING ZIMBABWE CITIZENSHIP AND THESE WOULD BE ENTRENCHED. THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE POSSESSION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND IF SO, WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE AN EXTENDED PERIOD DURING WHICH THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE, WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES.

9. THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON EXPRESSED THE UNANIMOUS HOPE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SOON BECOME A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING TO FACILITATE THIS.

THE TRANSITION

10. IT IS A BASIC PREMISE OF THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME WILL SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION MAY BE INSTALLED PEACEFULLY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE SUCH STEPS AS SEEM TO THEM APPROPRIATE TO SECURE THE TRANSFER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH (OR HIS SUCCESSOR) ON A DAY TO BE AGREED.

11. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE
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CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE, AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE WHOSE ROLE MAY INCLUDE: 1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE (SEE BELOW); 2) SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER; 3) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND WITH ALL THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.
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(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES:

(E) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF AN ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION, WITH THE ROLE OF CARRYING OUT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, THE DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES AND THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL ELECTION FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. ON THE AGREED DAY ON WHICH POWER IS TRANSFERRED TO THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION (PARA 10 ABOVE), A CEASE-FIRE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WITHIN RHODESIA AND MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

12. AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B.

THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND

13. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS, WILL HAVE AS A TARGET A MINIMUM APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM RATHER LESS THAN ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS, TO WHICH GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE

FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS SECTORS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE, AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS,

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INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. THE OPERATIONS OF THE FUND WOULD HELP TO ENSURE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SETTLEMENT WILL NOT INHIBIT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE FOR LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THEREBY ALSO HELP TO REASSURE THOSE WHO MAY FEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ARE PREDICATED UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSED FUND IS AT ANNEX C.

CONCLUSION:

14. THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THE ABOVE PROPOSALS PROVIDE FOR ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE SECURITY, BUT NOT PRIVILEGE, UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION, AND THE RIGHT TO BE GOVERNED BY A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER ARE CALCULATED TO ENSURE A QUICK, ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAVE AGREED TO USE THEIR JOINT INFLUENCE TO THE FULL TO PUT THE PROPOSALS INTO EFFECT. BUT A LASTING SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE: IT IS THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WHO MUST ACHIEVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE. THESE PROPOSALS OFFER THEM A WAY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS URGE THEM TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. VANCE

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APPROVED BY:AF/S:DENNIS KEOGH

S/S-O:SGOLDSMITH

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TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 194173

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 194173 ACTION VIENNA DATED AUG 16:

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 194173

EXDIS, FOR CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, PDEV, UK, UN

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO WALDHEIM

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF U.S.-U.K. SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WHICH WE ARE SENDING FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND PREPARATION FOR MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL. BY SEPTELS WE ARE ALSO SENDING DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON CONFIDENTIAL

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RHODESIA AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MEETING ITSELF. (ANNEXES REFERRED TO IN TEXT NOT INCLUDED.)

BEGIN TEXT:

BRITISH-US PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA.

1. ON 10 MARCH 1977 THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER ON A JOINT PEACE INITIATIVE TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. THE OBJECTIVE WAS AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

2. TO SUCCEED, ANY SETTLEMENT MUST COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF THOSE PEOPLE OF GOODWILL OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS WHO INTEND TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS CITIZENS OF ZIMBABWE. AMONGST THESE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOW MANY CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF

DEEP DISTRUST. THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS LED TO THE LOSS OF MANY LIVES AND TO MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING. THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN GRAVELY WEAKENED. BUT THERE IS SURELY ONE OVERRIDING COMMON INTEREST, THAT PEACE SHOULD BE RESTORED AND THAT GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

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OUT THE ELEMENTS WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, COULD IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMPRISE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, AS FOLLOWS:

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(A) A CONSTITUTION FOR INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR

(1) A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WITH THE WIDEST POSSIBLE FRANCHISE:

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(3) AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

(B) A TRANSITION PERIOD COVERING THE SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE PRESENT REGIME, THE INSTALLATION OF A NEUTRAL CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE, IN ADDITION TO ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY, WOULD BE THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PERIOD IT WAS ENVISAGED, WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY CONSTITUTED AND MANAGED DEVELOPMENT FUND (THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND).

4. FOLLOWING THAT TOUR, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE MET IN LONDON ON 6 MAY AND AGREED TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THESE PROPOSALS. TO THIS END THEY ESTABLISHED A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP MET ALL THE PARTIES ON A CONFIDENTIAL

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NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN LONDON AND IN AFRICA AND CARRIED OUT DETAILED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. IN PARALLEL, THE GOVERNMENTS OF INTERESTED COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED GENERALLY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THE BRITISH

GOVERNMENT IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT, HAVE NOW DECIDED TO PUT FIRM PROPOSALS FORWARD, COVERING THE THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN DOING SO THEY EMPHASIZE THAT THE THREE ASPECTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF A SETTLEMENT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE. THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY, HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS A BALANCED AND FAIR PACKAGE IN WHICH, THOUGH NO ONE MAY ACHIEVE ALL HIS AIMS, EVERYONE CAN SEE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CONSTITUTION

6. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC. PROVISION WOULD BE MADE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE, FOR A SINGLE-CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES. DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE SET OUT AT ANNEX A TO THIS DOCUMENT. THE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TAKEN AS EXCLUDING ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH DO NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE CONSTITUTION: EG PROVISION IS MADE FOR AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT WITH A VICE-PRESIDENT, BUT THERE MIGHT INSTEAD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT AND A PRIME MINISTER, IN WHICH CASE MANY OF THE POWERS WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO VEST IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE VESTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER OR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ADVICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

7. DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE FORBIDDEN BY A BILL OF RIGHTS PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3(A)(2)) THIS BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD BE JUSTICIABLE SO THAT AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUALS COULD ENFORCE THEIR RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO INTRODUCE MEASURES OF LAND REFORM WHILE GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT

JUDICIARY AND AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION TO ENSURE AN EFFICIENT AND NON-POLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WOULD INHERIT THE ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND WOULD TAKE OVER PAST AND PRESENT PENSIONS OBLIGATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, THE RIGHTS OF THE PENSIONERS BEING GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD CONTAIN THE BASIC PROVISIONS REGULATING ZIMBABWE CITIZEN-

SHIP AND THESE WOULD BE ENTRENCHED. THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE POSSESSION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND IF SO, WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE AN EXTENDED PERIOD DURING WHICH THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE, WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES.

9. THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON EXPRESSED THE UNANIMOUS HOPE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SOON BECOME A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING TO FACILITATE THIS.

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10. IT IS A BASIC PREMISE OF THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME WILL SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION MAY BE INSTALLED PEACEFULLY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE SUCH STEPS AS SEEM TO THEM APPROPRIATE TO SECURE THE TRANSFER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH (OR HIS SUCCESSOR) ON A DAY TO BE AGREED.

11. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE, AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL:

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(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY

COUNCIL OF A UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE WHOSE ROLE MAY INCLUDE: 1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE (SEE BELOW); 2) SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER; 3) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND WITH ALL THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES:

(E) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF AN ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION, WITH THE ROLE OF CARRYING OUT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, THE DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES AND THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL ELECTION FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. ON THE AGREED DAY ON WHICH POWER IS TRANSFERRED TO THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION (PARA 10 ABOVE), A CEASE-FIRE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WITHIN RHODESIA AND MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

12. AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B.

THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND

13. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY CONFIDENTIAL

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THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS, WILL HAVE AS A TARGET A MINIMUM APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM RATHER LESS THAN ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS, TO WHICH GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE

FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS SECTORS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE, AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS, INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. THE OPERATIONS OF THE FUND WOULD HELP TO ENSURE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SETTLEMENT WILL NOT INHIBIT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

FOR LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THEREBY ALSO HELP TO REASSURE THOSE WHO MAY FEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ARE PREDICATED UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSED FUND IS AT ANNEX C.

CONCLUSION:

14. THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THE ABOVE PROPOSALS PROVIDE FOR ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE SECURITY, BUT NOT PRIVILEGE, UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION, AND THE RIGHT TO BE GOVERNED BY A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER ARE CALCULATED TO ENSURE A QUICK, ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO CONFIDENTIAL

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INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAVE AGREED TO USE THEIR JOINT INFLUENCE TO THE FULL TO PUT THE PROPOSALS INTO EFFECT. BUT A LASTING SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE: IT IS THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WHO MUST ACHIEVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE. THESE PROPOSALS OFFER THEM A WAY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS URGE THEM TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. VANCE UNQTE VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS
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Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE194173
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF/S:JDAVIDOW;DH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770295-0922
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
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Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
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Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 19-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
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Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
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Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040622
Subject: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO WALDHEIM
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, XA, UN, (WALDHEIM, KURT)
To: VIENNA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/00e85751-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
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